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Transformation and Specialization in London and its Topography

Matthew Sangster

Abstract

This article puts John Tallis's *London Street Views* (1838-40) into conversation with some of the major topographical projects that preceded them. By examining how London was represented in works including Richard Horwood's *PLAN of the Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER the Borough of SOUTHWARK, and PARTS adjoining Shewing every HOUSE* (1792-9), Richard Phillips' *Modern London* (1804) and Rudolph Ackermann's *Microcosm of London* (1808-10), it considers the extent to which the form, content, price and organizing principles of the *Street Views* iterated on prior traditions while drawing out aspects of Tallis's work that should be read as representing innovative new directions. The *Street Views* were more specialized and more explicitly focused on business than the relatively genteel works of the earlier nineteenth century, but topography had long been a commercial prospect, often publisher-led rather than author-driven. As the century progressed, changes in the city and in technologies of representation modified the ways in which visions of London were assembled and sold, allowing for significant expansions in their potential audiences. However, there were also considerable continuities in what was depicted, in the reliance on part-publication and in the areas that were seen as being crucial to the experience of the metropolis. This article traces these continuities and discontinuities qualitatively, quantitatively and spatially.

Keywords: London; Street Views; Topography; Commerce; Print Culture; Visual Culture; Urban Spaces.

Main Text

The notice from the *Lincoln Gazette* that John Tallis reprinted on several occasions to promote the success of his *London Street Views* (1838-40) sought to position them as a pioneering undertaking. 'One of the wonders of the present age,' the newspaper gushed, somewhat disingenuously, 'and not the least too, is a most singular and successful effort, to depict a plan of London – by giving a representation of each street, with the front of every

house.’¹ However, as it continues, the notice positions the *Street Views* more particularly with respect to pre-existing social and print-cultural conventions. In describing the *Street Views* as being ‘executed in a style that renders it worthy of a place on the drawing room table’, the *Gazette* promotes Tallis’s productions as objects of refinement and interest, placing them in the same lineage as the desirable high-end topography created during previous decades. Possessing a drawing room indicated a level of social cachet in keeping with the well-to-do patrons of the early-nineteenth-century topographer’s art. The most socially exalted among these patrons was George III, whose enormous collection of topographical materials was presented to the nation after his death.² Other buyers included obsessive accumulators like John Charles Crowle and Frederick Crace, but also a wider network of notable and prosperous individuals whose names can often be recovered from surviving subscription lists.³ However, the *Gazette* goes on to contend that the *Street Views* are a less exclusive publication than many of their forebears. After asking ‘at what rate per number is such a novelty charged?’ and quoting a descending list of prices beginning at two shillings, the notice concludes triumphantly that numbers of Tallis’s *Street Views* ‘are supplied at the wonderfully cheap rate of three half-pence!’ The buyers of Tallis’s works are thus presented as people who can acquire a refined collectable at a more-than-reasonable price, partaking both of valuable artistry and modern pecuniary value.

In expanding on this advertisement’s implicit logics, this article will seek to position the *Street Views* within a longer tradition of metropolitan topography, considering the extent to which they might be seen as being integrally linked with this tradition and examining the ways in which they develop or break free from its conventions. The *Street Views* are an oddity in the particularities of their plan, but perhaps only inasmuch as – like many of the most important works on London – they achieved their prominence by identifying a fruitful new niche for displaying and marketing the city. There are indubitable differences between Tallis’s cheap, advertising-supported productions and lavish Georgian topographical works like Rudolph Ackermann’s *Microcosm of London* (1808-10). A single number of the *Microcosm*, containing four hand-coloured aquatint plates with their descriptive text, originally cost seven shillings, and this rose to ten shillings and sixpence for those who subscribed after the first volume.⁴ A sum

¹ The *Lincoln Gazette*’s review is reprinted in Peter Jackson (ed.), *John Tallis’s London Street Views 1838-1840*, revised edition (London: London Topographical Society, 2002), p. 11.

² King George III’s Topographical Collection is now held at the British Library: <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/kinggeorge/>.

³ More information on Crowle and Crace can be found in Anna Maude, ‘The Changing Image of London: A Comparison of the Crace Collection and the Crowle Pennant in the British Museum Print Room’, *London Journal*, 38 (2013), 110-24.

⁴ Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated 1604-1851: A Survey and Index of Topographical Books and their Plates* (London: Library Association, 1983), p. 224.

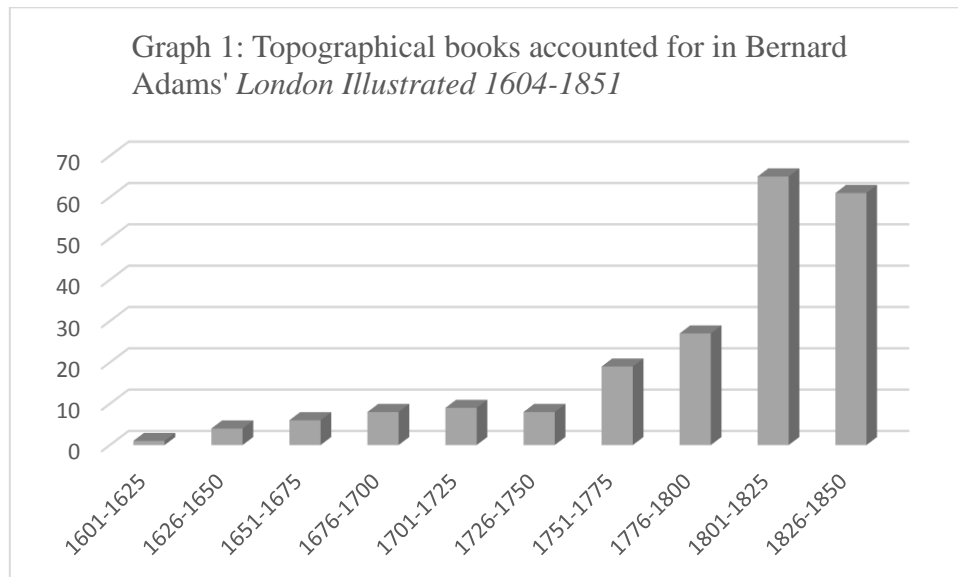
sufficient for a tardy subscriber to purchase a single number from among the twenty-six that made up the complete *Microcosm* would have been nearly sufficient for the purchase of all eighty-eight numbers of Tallis's publication. That the *Lincoln Gazette* started its speculations on the *Street Views*' price at two shillings is a clear indication of the sizeable drop in the costs of producing visual materials that had taken place during the 1820s and 1830s, allowing the *Street Views* to address markets for topography that would not have been viable to reach thirty – or even ten – years earlier. However, there are also a large number of commonalities between the two works. The *Microcosm* and the *Street Views* were both publisher-led, mixed-media productions that sought to give accounts of London for stakeholders who would gladly pay to have the city systematized and displayed on amenable terms. They were imagined to be appreciated in markedly similar fashions; the *Critical Review* described the *Microcosm* as 'an admirable *lounging-book* for a breakfast room, or a very accurate and entertaining guide to the variety of curious and interesting spectacles, which are to be seen in this stupendous capital of the commercial world.'⁵ While the parades of starkly-delineated shop fronts and the walls of close-packed advertisements in the *Street Views* present a rather more business-focused version of the city than the wide margins and self-conscious artistry displayed within the relatively genteel works of the earlier nineteenth century, topography had long been a commercial prospect, requiring careful financing and the marshalling of substantial groups of patrons and producers. The *Street Views* were innovative in a number of respects, but examining them alongside works from earlier in the century serves to reveal considerable continuities in terms of the ways that they configured the city, their reliance on part publication and the parts of London that they represented and neglected.

Topographical Profusion

The first half of the nineteenth century saw an unprecedented flourishing of metropolitan topography. Graph 1, which draws on Bernard Adams' invaluable survey *London Illustrated, 1601-1851*, shows a historical distribution of books containing topographical prints of the metropolis.⁶

⁵ 'The *Microcosm of London*', *Critical Review*, third series, 20 (July 1810), 261-7 (p. 267).

⁶ This has been compiled using Adams' 'Chronological numbered list of books' (pp. xxv-xxviii).



Of the 216 works in Adams' main sequence, only eighty-two were begun in 1800 or before, meaning that approaching twice as many works were produced during the fifty years after 1800 as during the previous two centuries: an astonishing burgeoning of metropolitan representations. This torrent of works also tended to be inflected more specifically than those that preceded them. In the advertisement for the significantly-titled *Modern London*, published in 1804, the writer (probably its publisher, Richard Phillips) contends that the book is designed for readers who 'cannot find in Stowe, Maitland, or Pennant, those facts relative to the actual present state of their Metropolis'.⁷ This description typifies a move away from grand synoptic accounts like the three major histories that the advertisement names and towards more present-minded and specialized accounts. Phillips, like Tallis three decades later, displayed a keen awareness that London could be marketed in numerous ways to different audiences, including such constituencies as visitors, walkers, collectors, antiquarians and children, all of whom would want to know different things about the city.⁸ Increasingly, works about London pursued systematic approaches that selected particular aspects to present, attempting to find distinctive lenses through which to display the metropolis's desirable qualities. Tallis's focus on 'public buildings, places of amusement' and (particularly) 'tradesmen's shops' can be seen in this sense as being one among many different

⁷ [Richard Phillips], *Modern London* (London: Richard Phillips, 1804), p. iii.

⁸ In asserting this, I am thinking of works like [John Feltham's] *The Picture of London* (London: Richard Phillips, 1802 and subsequently), on which *Modern London* was based; David Hughson's *Walks through London* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1817); John Thomas Smith's *Antiquities of London* (London: J.T. Smith, 1791-1800), which was designed in large part as a supplement for Thomas Pennant's *Of London* (London: Robert Fauldner, 1790, and frequently reissued in revised forms; and Priscilla Wakefield's *Perambulations in London and its Environs* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1809).

angles employed by those keen to unlock the commercial potential of representing the city during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁹

Before moving on from the graph, it is useful to note briefly what might initially seem to be a strange anomaly. It would have been easy to assume that the bulk of the growth in topography after 1800 would have taken place in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when new technologies like the steam-driven press, the Fourdriner paper-making machine and steel engraving meant that the costs of print production fell substantially and that new forms like Tallis's *Street Views* could address ever-increasing audiences. However, as the graph demonstrates, Adams' account actually includes slightly fewer illustrated works from after 1825 than from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In observing this, though, it is important to recognize the things that Adams' census does not include. While Adams mentions Tallis's *Street Views* approvingly in his introductory matter, he does not believe that they fall within the purview of his volume. Rather than being a topographical book, he sees them as a work that was 'specifically published as a trade directory and advertising medium'.¹⁰ If we were to accept this characterisation – one that Tallis's titling and accounts like that given in the *Lincoln Gazette* seem to a certain extent to resist – we might use Tallis as a marker of a move away from London's being systematized in forms either issued as complete books or designed to be collected into them and towards more contingent and fragmentary forms of apprehending the city, such as the periodical essay and the discrete printed image. The wider media environment was certainly changing in this manner during the 1820s and 1830s, a process that did not go unnoticed at the time. In 1834, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* justified vastly reducing its price by remarking that '[t]he expensive quartos and octavos, which used to issue in such swarms for Albemarle Street, and The Row, and from the Edinburgh press in *Constable's* days, have given place to the *Waverley Novels*, *Lardner's Cyclopaedia*, *The Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, and some scores more of similar works, published in monthly parts, at cheap prices.'¹¹ The *Street Views* can helpfully be positioned as part of this movement. As publications like *Tait's* and the *Penny Magazine* were to the quarterly reviews and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, so were the *Street Views* to Ackermann's publications and their ilk. However, tracing this process is complicated by the fact that these cheaper and more prolific forms have proven to be less durable and less amenable to census-taking than the kinds of works that Adams gathered. It is notable that despite (or perhaps

⁹ Copy text from the wrapper to *Street View* No. 1 (King William Street, London Bridge), most easily accessed as an insert in Jackson (pp. 16-17).

¹⁰ Adams, p. xiv.

¹¹ 'Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine: The Cheap and Dear Periodicals', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 4 (January 1834), 490-500 (p. 492).

because of) their ease of purchase, Tallis's *Street Views* are now, in the words of Peter Jackson, 'among the rarest of all publications of London interest', with a very small number of sets surviving.¹² While high production costs and often-unwieldy formats meant that earlier heavily-illustrated topographical works were not generally used as practical guides, the *Street Views* could be stuffed into the bags and pockets of those seeking to explore the city that they depicted, perishing as a result of their practicality. Despite their professed ambitions towards collected comprehensiveness, the *Street Views* evidently did not possess the cultural capital or the durability of their forebears within their contemporary moment.

Horwood's *Plan* and the Shape of the City

Having spent the first part of this article discussing the *Street Views*' consonances with a larger topographical tradition, it seems apposite at this point to develop some more particular comparisons with specific works, beginning with a feat of cartography that provides both a revealing contrast in itself and a means for conducting further comparisons. Richard Horwood's *PLAN of the Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER the Borough of SOUTHWARK, and PARTS adjoining Shewing every HOUSE* was produced for an audience of subscribers between 1790 and 1799. Horwood's prospectus for his *Plan* described this project as being conducted 'ON A PRINCIPLE NEVER BEFORE ATTEMPTED [at] a Scale so extensive and accurate as to establish, not only every Street, Square, Court, Alley, and passage therein, but also each individual House, the Number by which it is distinguished, the Names of all the public Buildings, and other Remarks, so as to render it the most perfect Plan of the Metropolis, and the best Directory, ever published.'¹³ This rhetoric is not dissimilar to that which Tallis employed in advertising the *Street Views* on their wrappers, where he also stressed the scale of his endeavour, contending that the undertaking as a whole would produce 'a complete stranger's guide' including 'a faithful history and description of every object worthy of notice.'¹⁴ However, these statements of intent addressed very different audiences. Horwood's prospectus circulated to a select group of potential patrons who by the cheapest arrangement offered would have paid a sum of five guineas for his work.¹⁵ Tallis's wrappers addressed purchasers who would encounter the *Street Views* 'kept by all Booksellers and Toy shops in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.'

¹² Jackson, p. 15.

¹³ The first page of Horwood's prospectus is reprinted opposite the title page in Paul Laxton (ed.), *The A-Z of Regency London* (London: London Topographical Society, 1985).

¹⁴ Insert in Jackson.

¹⁵ Horwood offers a two-payment option and an instalment plan in his prospectus.

Tallis says similar things to Horwood, but he addresses a wide and unknown public of shoppers, rather than a networked cultural elite. Rather than relying on significant payments from a dedicated body of supporters, Tallis placed his trust in more casual forms of purchasing across a widely-distributed web of sales venues. The advent of cheap print and the corresponding growth of consumer culture had changed the nature of topographical audiences, allowing Tallis to address more modest purchasers who aspired to advance financially and socially through knowing the metropolis, serving these patrons as well as – or instead of – those who collected from positions of relative comfort and privilege.

As well as differing in their audiences, the *Street Views* and Horwood's *Plan* differ substantially in kind, despite the similarities between their self-characterizations. Horwood's *Plan* affects to present a genuinely complete vision of the city's geographical layout, while the *Street Views* are both more selective and more detailed. The thirty-two sheets that form Horwood's *Plan* are printed on a dedicated paper stock and when assembled measure more than thirteen feet across and seven feet from top to bottom, a very different prospect from the *Street Views*' slim, somewhat flimsy pamphlets.¹⁶ Both were published in sections, but Horwood's *Plan*, sold by subscription as a publication of record, aspired towards sturdy comprehensiveness, an aspiration reflected by the considerable number of copies that survive as complete sets or in bound volumes. While Horwood provided an 'EXPLANATION' on the final sheets of the *Plan* in which he accounted for his inability to gather certain street numbers and noted in small text that he 'never pledged himself to show the interior or extent of the back parts of Premises or in any way to distinguish property', his title nevertheless maintains with seeming accuracy that his magnum opus was successful in 'shewing every HOUSE'.¹⁷ While the *Plan* did not include every aspect of London, it purported plausibly to be comprehensive in terms of the city's spatial layout. By contrast, within their wrappers the *Street Views* were intrinsically partial, implicitly valuing particular thoroughfares. Unlike a cartographic representation, an exhibition of London conducted on Tallis's terms did not need to represent the whole city, but only the places that were most commonly and profitably trafficked. The unnumbered streets that troubled Horwood were unlikely to be streets that were interesting to Tallis's audience of shoppers, and could thus be silently passed over. While Tallis might have intended his work 'to assist strangers visiting the metropolis through all its mazes without a guide', he was canny enough to realise that he could

¹⁶ A full digital version of Horwood's *Plan* is available on the website for my Romantic London project: <http://www.romanticlondon.org>.

¹⁷ Richard Horwood, *PLAN of the Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER the Borough of SOUTHWARK, and PARTS adjoining Shewing every HOUSE* (London: Richard Horwood, 1792-9).

pre-empt the mazes in which travellers would find themselves through judicious processes of selection.¹⁸

Modelling *Modern London*

A more apt comparison with Tallis in terms of its editing the metropolis might be a publication I have already mentioned: Richard Phillips' *Modern London*. This was a relatively exclusive guide to the contemporary city, sold as a 'large elegant [...] 4to embellished with 54 copper plates thirty-one of which are coloured' at the price of three guineas. Its advertisement describes its two plate series as 'faithful portraits of the places and scenes represented [that] exhibit the very soul of the Metropolis in a way which has never before been attempted.'¹⁹ Twenty-two of the plates in *Modern London* focus on important metropolitan venues – like Westminster Abbey, the House of Lords and the Royal Exchange – and on places of entertainment, such as the patent theatres, the parks and Vauxhall Pleasure Gardens. Many of these are located along a central spine of activity commonly represented in topographical works, running from Westminster to the Bank of England via the Strand and St Paul's.²⁰ Unlike the *Street Views*, the metropolitan scenes selected in *Modern London* are heavily peopled and dynamically depicted. Rather than showing the trading venues along a street, they seek to present London through a series of key locations that can be used, in the advertisement's words, to 'characterize the manners of the people'.²¹ This is also the case with the other plate series in the volume, a series of portraits of itinerant traders. While the *Street Views* depict commerce through fixed premises, Phillips' book extends the 'Cries of London' tradition through showing business as being intrinsically mobile (even while placing its salespeople very carefully in particular upscale environments and in locations that signify particular associations; for example, the chimney sweep bears his significant burden past the gates of the Foundling Hospital).

¹⁸ Insert in Jackson.

¹⁹ [Phillips], pp. v-vi.

²⁰ Both plate series can be viewed on Romantic London: <http://www.romanticlondon.org/modern-london-1804/>.

²¹ [Phillips], p. vi.

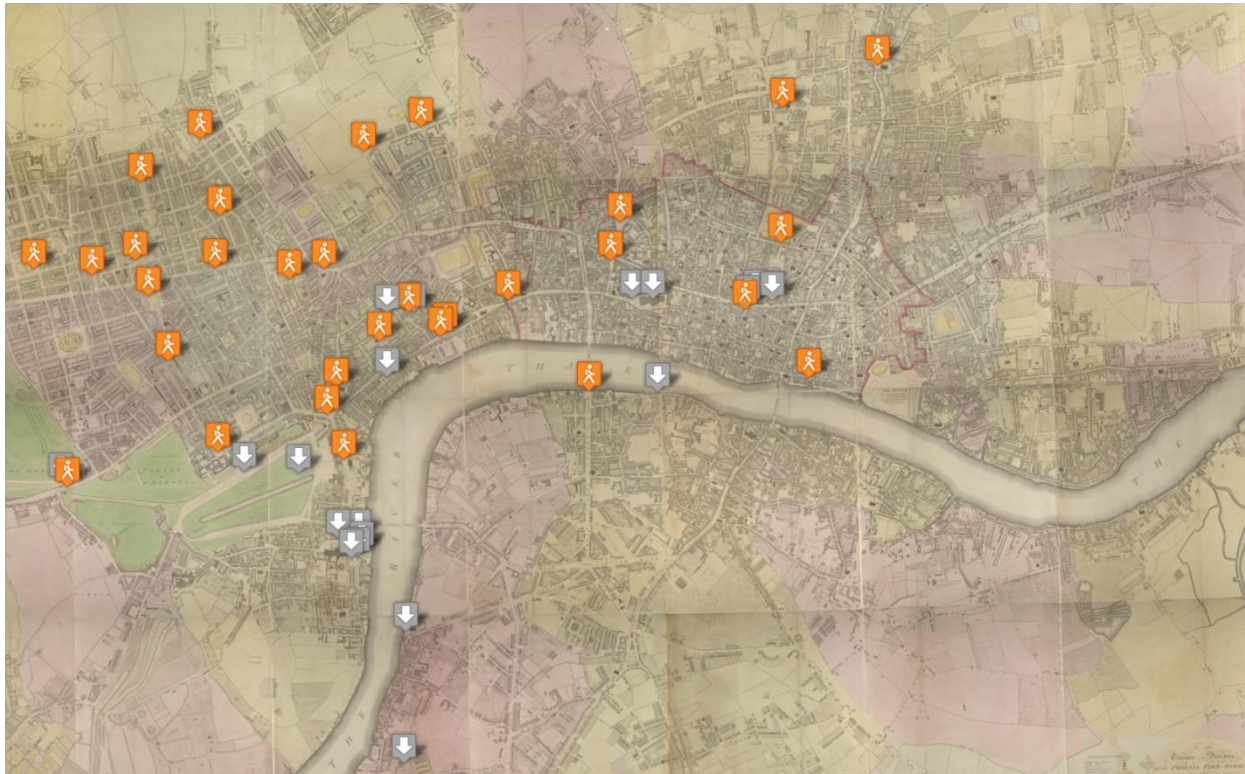


Figure 1: Locations depicted in the two plate series in *Modern London* (1804). The arrowed markers indicate the London scenes, the walking figure the plates of itinerant traders. Three markers for scenes located at Greenwich are omitted. For full details, see the digital version: <http://www.romanticlondon.org/modern-london-1804/>.

As Figure 1, which maps its two plate series onto Horwood's *Plan*, demonstrates, *Modern London* paints particular geographies, with the metropolitan scenes hugging the river and the traders located both in similar venues and in locations that mark out the fashionable residences of the West End and key locations on the city's periphery. Through these twin sets of depictions, and through a sequence of chapters that examine different groups of city organizations, including prisons, courts, hospitals and 'Royal Palaces, Parks, and other Appurtenances of State and Government', *Modern London* makes clear its investment in representing and commenting upon the full extent of London's civic order, focusing on both its people and its institutions.²² By contrast, the *Street Views* present, in Elizabeth Grant's words, 'a fragmented and selective view of London [...] defined by trade and commerce'.²³ One is an attempt at synthesis, the other more pragmatic about London's scale and complexity, focused principally on instrumental concerns relating to tightly-defined areas.

²² [Phillips], p. vii.

²³ Elizabeth Grant, 'John Tallis's London Street Views', *London Journal*, 37 (2012), 234-51 (p. 237).

What makes a *Microcosm*?

Peopled scenes that seek to show major aspects of the metropolis are also intrinsic to the most famous London topographical work from the early nineteenth century: the aforementioned *Microcosm of London*. The *Microcosm* was a determinedly collaborative effort masterminded by the German-born impresario Rudolph Ackermann. In its 104 aquatint plates, colourful, boisterous men and women drawn by the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson occupy a series of elegantly-executed buildings and vistas delineated by the draughtsman Auguste Charles Pugin.²⁴ These scenes were engraved variously by five different hands before the printing and the hand-colouring were completed by what must have been an extensive skilled workforce.²⁵ The *Microcosm*, as already discussed, was a resolutely luxurious production on which Ackermann, in his own words, ‘spared no expence’.²⁶ However, it also made a significant effort to live up to its title through representing a wide variety of London experiences, as can be seen by examining the geographical spread of the locations that it depicts (see Figure 2) and by considering some of the less-frequently-depicted subjects that it selected. These included the Board Room of the Admiralty, Bartholomew Fair, the Royal Cock Pit, the water engine at Coldbath Fields Prison, the Great Subscription Room at Brooks’s, the Middlesex Hospital, a lottery drawing at the Coopers’ Hall, a masquerade at the Pantheon, the Stamp Office at Somerset House, the synagogue at Duke’s Place, Tattersall’s Horse Repository and the West India Docks. As this list implies, rather than presenting similar-looking streets, the *Microcosm* was a publication that gloried in particularities. This was one of its major selling points: Ackermann’s introduction to the first volume claimed that his work ‘embraces such a variety of subjects (dissimilar, it must be acknowledged, to each other), that some of them must be interesting to almost every man’.²⁷ While the *Microcosm* in some ways sought to be ordered system, encompassing London through a discrete series of images arranged alphabetically by subject, it also sought to reflect in these images and the descriptive texts that accompanied them a succession of unique points of interest. While Tallis’s *Street Views* are necessarily generic, lopping off the tops of buildings that reach uncommonly far above their neighbours and depicting most of the shop fronts on a given thoroughfare as looking very much like one another, each plate of the *Microcosm* drew value from its variety, both internally and in relation to other images in the series. Too many similar

²⁴ Again, the full plate series can be viewed on Romantic London: <http://www.romanticlondon.org/microcosm/>.

²⁵ The engravers were John Bluck (who engraved fifty-four plates), Joseph Constantine Stadler (twenty-nine), Thomas Sunderland and John Hill (ten each), and Richard Bankes Harraden (one). Very little information survives on the considerable body of workers that must have been necessary to hand-colour tens of thousands of aquatint plates.

²⁶ [Rudolph Ackermann], *The Microcosm of London*, 3 vols (London: Ackermann, 1808-10), III, ix.

²⁷ *Microcosm*, I, ix.

plates would have sapped the enthusiasm of Ackermann's buyers, who were looking for new delights from each set of images. Too much diversity in the *Street Views* would have unnecessarily complicated the format, potentially causing confusion among their users and ructions among Tallis's advertisers. Ackermann encouraged his buyers to linger among the city's bright splendours and hidden treasures; by contrast, Tallis sold a product that promised to make London's streets quickly and straightforwardly parseable.

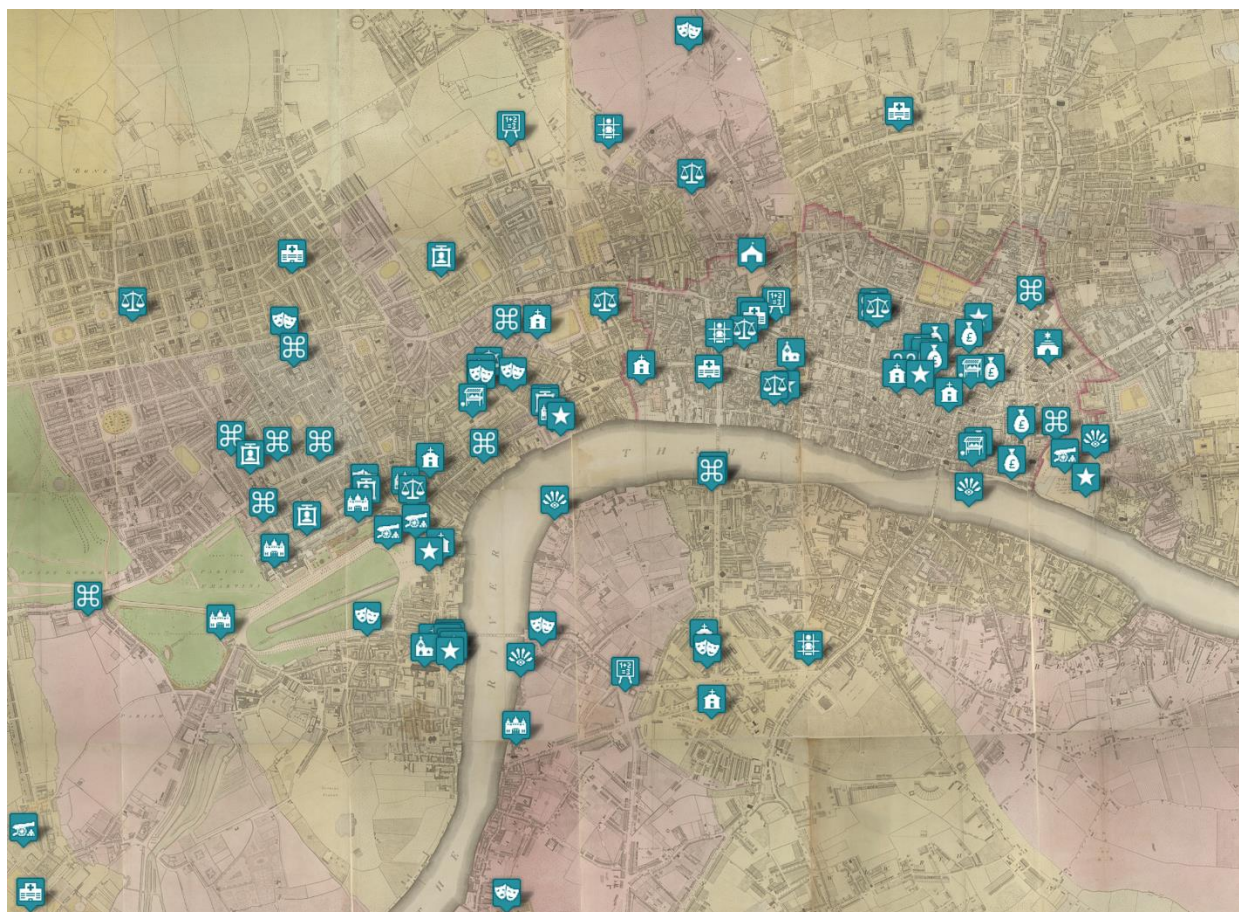


Figure 2: Locations depicted in the plates that comprise *The Microcosm of London* (1808-10). Two markers, one located at Greenwich and one at the West India Docks, are omitted. For a full explanation of the symbols, see the digital version:

<http://www.romanticlondon.org/microcosm>.

The *Street Views* in Relation

Mapping the *Street Views* (in Figure 3) reveals a number of spatial continuities with *Modern London* and the *Microcosm*, but also some interesting discontinuities.²⁸ While

²⁸ An interactive version of Figure 3 can be found on Romantic London: <http://www.romanticlondon.org/tallis-street-views/>.

Westminster and Whitehall are underrepresented in the *Street Views* when compared with *Modern London* and the *Microcosm*, the rest of the city's traditional spine is fully accounted for, as are regions of longstanding importance in the City and the West End (although the shape of John Nash's Regent Street provides a new area of emphasis within the latter for Tallis). There are also some common blind spots that the *Street Views* share with earlier works, including the poor areas around Seven Dials; the genteel streets of Mayfair by Hyde Park; and Westminster south of the Abbey, where Victoria Station is now located. Not everything in London was a viable subject for those seeking to profit from images. Some areas lacked commercial interest, and these were generally only abstracted in truly comprehensive accounts, like Horwood's *Plan*.

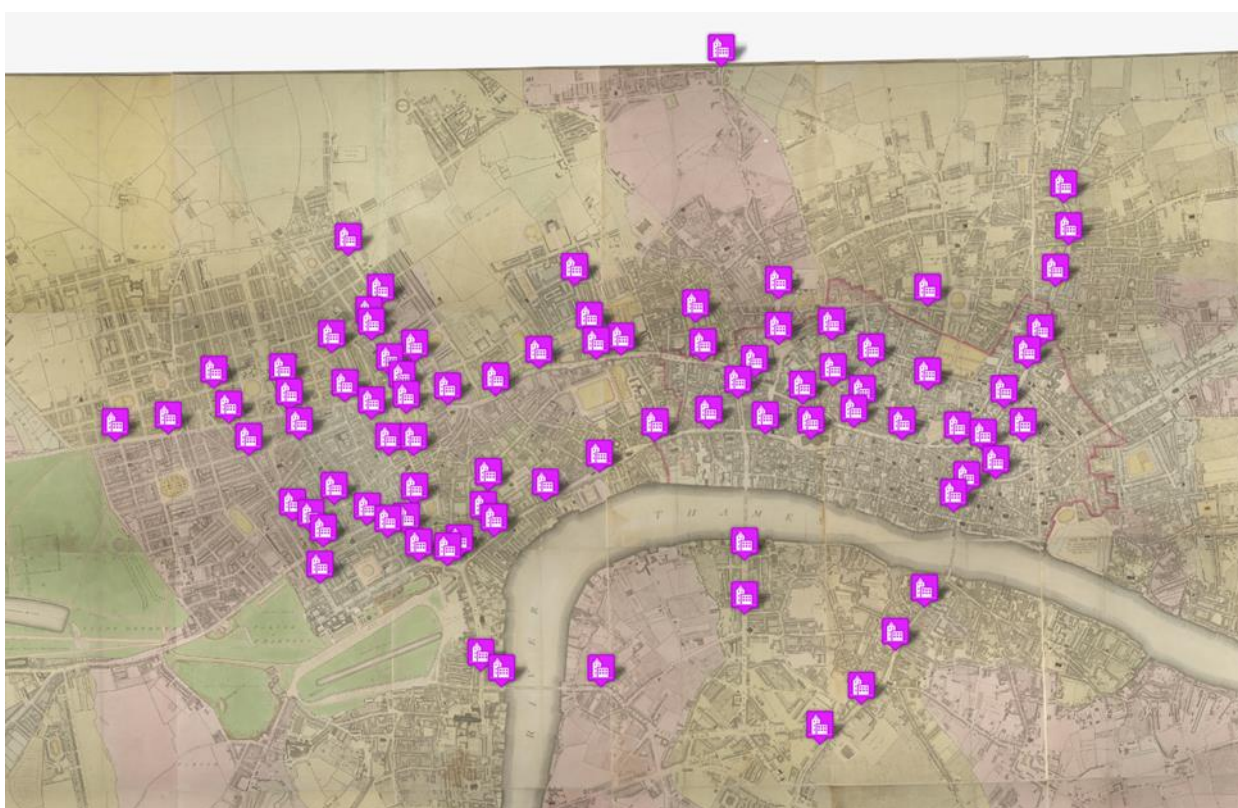


Figure 3: Locations depicted in Tallis's *Street Views*. Each marker is placed at the central point of a given view.

In comparing Tallis with earlier high-end topography, some notable developments can be discerned. A second east-west route along Holborn and Oxford Street parallels the older one by the river, showing the retailers serving the residential neighbourhoods spreading to the north around Marylebone and Bloomsbury. This route was by no means entirely new; John Feltham describes it in the inaugural 1802 version of *The Picture of London* (a yearly publication that

formed the basis for the more lavish *Modern London*).²⁹ However, these streets had not previously attracted significant attention from high-end topographers, so in representing them, Tallis was addressing a gap in the market for visual depictions of the city. New areas of interest in the east are marked out by the arc up Borough High Street and north along Gracechurch Street and Bishopsgate to Shoreditch, showing a wave of development that was transforming city areas beyond the fashionable west end and the traditional centres of business within the old walls. As Jon Stobart contends elsewhere in this collection, while Tallis's views at first glance do little to draw out local differences, they do represent a number of quite different commercial locales, displaying the narrower shopfronts of the eastern parts of the City as well as the lavish windows of Westminster's principal streets. However, in representing these commercial prospects, Tallis does not venture geographically beyond the boundaries set by his topographical precursors. None of Tallis's *Street Views* fall within areas that were not already relatively built up when Horwood was completing his survey, and many lie close to the points where the scenes in *Modern London* and the *Microcosm* cluster thickly. While in producing his *Street Views* Tallis had shifted the focus to saleable aspects of the city that more traditional topography tended to overlook, he was iterating on an established set of spatial logics, rather than wholly reinventing the character of the city.

We might also see Tallis as iterating on the strategies of association that earlier topographical works had employed. As I have stressed, topographical works generally arose from collaborations led by publishers that brought together artists, writers and printers with lists of suitable buyers. Where Tallis innovated was in de-emphasising the financial contribution of his purchasers though incorporating advertisers as an additional group of partners in the collaborative production of city representation, hybridising the logics of the topographical work with those of the commercial directory. The co-authorship of advertisers led to some innovative crossovers. For example, Tallis's publication came to play an important role in a long-running series of periodical notices trumpeting the virtues of Grimstone's eye snuff, a product characterised through testimonials from figures like 'W. Bicknell', who had previously been 'incapable of knowing a shilling from a guinea', but who had been 'almost completely restored' through the use of Grimstone's remarkable panacea.³⁰ Grimstone's newspaper insertions of the

²⁹ [John Feltham], *The Picture of London for 1802* (London: R. Phillips, 1802), p. 32.

³⁰ 'Sight Restored to the Afflicted', *John Bull*, 25 November 1838, p. [1]. Grimstone was a regular advertiser in *John Bull*, and also in other publications including the *London Dispatch* (see, for example, 19 May 1839, p. 10) and the *Era* (15 September 1839, p. 12), in which a testimonial from the *Old Monthly Magazine* (September 1838, p. 336) was cited stating that 'Literary men and individuals accustomed to sedentary habits or long reading, will find this snuff invaluable in keeping off head-ache, dizziness in the eyes, and a powerful assistant to the organ of hearing.' See also Grant, p. 249-50.

late 1830s almost invariably instruct those perusing them to ‘See No. 26 of “Tallis’s London Street Views”’, in which Grimstone’s premises, 39 Broad Street in Bloomsbury, is the subject of a ‘Bird’s-Eye-View’ that shows a façade proudly emblazoned with the slogan ‘SIGHT RESTORED HEAD ACHE CURED BY THE USE OF GRIMSTONE’S CELEBRATED EYE SNUFF’.³¹ This kind of novel inclusion is one of the things that makes the *Street Views* distinctively valuable as a historical source and that marks Tallis’s production as one alive to the potential opened up by new processes of mass print production. However, in many ways, the image of Grimstone’s premises is not vastly different in kind from that of the squirrel-wrangling showman depicted in *Modern London* or the plate showing the fishwives of Billingsgate in the *Microcosm*. Each slots in to a systematisation of the city that positions itself on frequently-trodden ground, but each also records an angle upon the metropolis unavailable in competing or complementary versions. The consensus geographies of London meant that topographical accounts were curated in part by common expectations. At the same time, though, the combination of the city’s established importance and the rapid pace of change within it meant that there was always room for a clever publisher with a new lens or technology to profit by adding to the palimpsest.

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³¹ [John Tallis], Street View No. 26. Reprinted in Jackson, pp. 92-3.